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GIVEN BY

Edward Gassett.

Utopianism

Francis ~~Right~~ Wright

Men not equal Tabouror overworked for his rewards not benefited only soultion Universal school System all children taught supervised to the same objectives thus doing away with Equality

Bronson Alcotts Fruitlands

Man only is concerned and devotes most of his thoughts to his own welfare and True progress comes from within

Brook Farm - in order to live good moral life had to get away from Evil's of society get away from competition & Industry ~~work~~ work for the good of all - Equality of all, get back to nature by agriculture wages & Provisions equal. Also Intellectual Equality

Hopedale Community - More Religious than Brook farm - Experiment of God's Kingdom on Earth Came into existance because of Wars. Political corruption Industries Competition one man Accomplishments ~~accomplishments~~ at the expense of another. & ~~class~~ CLASS distinction

Transcendentalism & Common type boarding house Arrangement. Communistic in Form

Oneida Community - Quotes from bible that men & woman should not be restricted to one

make and render the present system. This is the case and we should love one another just passed off.

Woman's Rights

Cathrine Beecher. Education for women. Hartford Seminary for girls - women are responsible for bringing up each generation of children they ~~have~~ should therefore be educated to a degree in morals and general knowledge of the society is to improve.

Seneca Falls Declaration of Independence. Woman were created with same rights as man - under present set up women have no rights. Under present system they were inferior to the most Ignorant Men - these injustices were against nature itself.

Lucy Stone's Protest on Existing Marriage Rules.

Married under condition Husband would support her cusade for womans rights - Was married and protested rights of Men being superior to women in marriage as these were a violation to justice + Law.

Ohio Memorial on Woman Suffrage

they had to support govt by taxes but had no rights were just slaves. once married they lost there self dependance and thus was an appeal for suffrage right to vote but also to hold political offices

Wendell Phillips Plea for Woman Suffrage
appeal for woman's right to vote for moral good of Country

Peace Crusade

William Lloyd Garrison Declaration of Non Resistance sentiments

~~Henry~~ no allegiance to any human Govt even though the disagreed with Govt they would not resort to physical force. Rights and Liberties in U.S. were no more DEAR to them than the whole human Race. Moral Issue They deemed it unlawful Anything thing that had to do with Military believed + Eye for Eye tooth for tooth aside had already been settled by Jesus Christ

William Ladd A Congress of Nations
No moral Right to go to war. injured nation should look for explanation of injury which He will find is usually unintentional war will ~~never~~ Never be a means of gaining

Satisfaction for Injury will just result
in more injury - Arbitration is
the only means of solving national Probs
Elihu Burritt supperseded Ladd's
address to the Congress of Nations
for the universal code of Laws at some neutral
site - High court of Nations each sending
2 men - for any problems that can't be
settled within the nation itself or between
to Nations that can not settle there
differences. He also cited the smith question
of the US. Supreme Court
Charles Sumner the true grandeur
of Nations - no war was honorable
& no means of peace was dishonorable
cites the building of the Greece & Roman
Empire of the mistakes of nations in the
past Humanity is more important than
the chief aims of an empire

LETTERS

OF

7564.24

RUSH, ADAMS, AND WIRT.

Stereotype Edition.

BOSTON:
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1831.

From pph. v. 286.
44497
Edward Gassett
Apr. 15, 1856.

7564.24

CORRESPONDENCE.

York, April 26th, 1831.

Hon. Richard Rush,

Dear Sir,—The undersigned, acting as the Anti-masonic Committee of Correspondence for York County, beg leave to address you. They, in general with the party to which they all belong, view the present as a period of great importance in the history of this country. A large body of the Freemen of these United States, deem the Institution of Freemasonry dangerous to our political and moral welfare, and have united themselves in a determination to put it down. In this attempt, they have been vigorously and *systematically* opposed by another portion, who are attached to it, and it has thus become a matter of vast importance for those who entertain the opinions which we profess to know who are for, and who against us. Therefore, as it has, on the one hand, been stated in a public newspaper that you *are* a member of the Institution, which has again by others been denied, we, together with many other of our fellow citizens, will feel thankful to you for such information upon the subject as you may think proper to communicate; and likewise your views with respect to the question between Masonry and its opponents. Addressing you, as we do, in the character of a public body, it is of course our desire that the reply should be public also.

With sentiments of high respect and esteem,

We remain, sir, your obedient serv'ts,

William M'Ilvain,
John Kauffelt,
Hugh M'Donald,
Thomas C. Hambly,

Anti-masonic Committee of Correspondence for York County.

MR. RUSH'S ANSWER.

York, Pennsylvania, May 4th, 1831.

Gentlemen,

I have received the communication of the 26th April, which, as a Committee of Correspondence of Anti-masons for this county, you have done me the honor to address to me, on the general sub-

ject of Masonry and Anti-masonry, and making some inquiries of me in relation to it. I do not know, that the views which I entertain upon either topic can be of more importance than those of any other private individual, who may have taken the trouble to inform himself on the passing events of the day, and to reflect upon them. But as you are pleased to invite an expression of those views, I will not withhold them. When a citizen may have adopted, on sufficient deliberation, opinions upon any public question, they seem, of right, to belong to whomsoever may think them worth asking for. My opinions having been made up neither hastily nor very recently on those which your letter embraces, I willingly proceed, without occupying time by any further introduction, to present them to you, with the grounds on which they are founded. I see objections to secret societies, because, pursuing objects not known to the public, through means not known to the public, they act under diminished responsibilities to the public. If the objects be good, why not state them; if bad, they ought to be known. Our legislative halls are all open, and our courts; so are all the acts of our people, that may come to affect the interests of the body political or social. Not a bridge company, not a turnpike company, no bank, scarcely an association of any kind, for whatever purpose existing, whether for the advancement of charity, or learning, or religion, or any of the common business of life, and whether incorporated by the laws or not, but renders its statements to the public either voluntarily or by command of the laws. If the latter do not positively enjoin publicity, a competent share of information regarding the objects of any such associations, is rarely or ever withheld, on proper inquiry being made. Societies, then, profoundly secret, by the first element of their constitution, whatever their ostensible ends, cannot be too closely watched, in a country whose primary principles of political and social action are all in the face of day. The mystery should appear to have good cause, and be free from all suspicion of abuse. If such societies guard their secrets by strong penalties; if they have numbers and antiquity on their side; if their visible outposts are but links of a chain stretching from nation to nation; if the sense of affiliated attachment and union among them is perceived to be exceedingly energetic and zealous; if their whole scheme of discipline, improved throughout ages, has become in a high degree imposing, even terrifying, their operations will naturally have the more scope, and should be watched with the more care. Freemasonry *is* such a society. Great and good men have belonged to it, I know, and do belong to it at this moment; yet, recent disclosures in the United States, have, I think, shown the dangers of which the society may become the parent, through the agency of bad men. Of all governments existing, ours is the one which would be most justified in watching, with constant and scrupulous care, the conduct of societies profoundly secret. Most, or all, other governments admit the principle of secrecy, and themselves

practise it, at least to some extent. Ours, never. All its operations are, sooner or later, laid before the grand, original, constituent body—the people; the only fountain, with us, of all influence and sovereignty and power. These are obvious principles of our system. Freemasonry puts forth an exception to them. It is hence the right and duty of the people, to exercise strict censorship over a body which moves in an element so contrary to their own. They are the higher power, and entitled to the undisputed control. It is as much a general truth in morals as in government, that it is vice, not virtue, which needs a veil.

In saying that recent disclosures have shown the dangers of Masonry in the United States, let us see if I am not right. I desire to be guided by facts, and to look at them rigorously. Your inquiries are broad, and should be met broadly. But facts shall be my basis, and I wish to deal with them practically, as I have really beheld them. You apply to me as citizens, taking an actual part in the affairs around you. I am to answer you in that capacity, and as a member of the same community.

The public all know, that certain trials have been held from time to time in the State of New York, for the discovery of the authors of the abduction and murder of William Morgan. Against this man's liberty and life, an extensive and formidable conspiracy had been laid, which ended in the destruction of both. He was a native of Virginia, and had removed into New York. It was there, it seems, that he committed a certain offence, not against the laws of his country, but the Code of Masonry; namely, that of revealing its secrets; and this is the offence for which he was made to suffer death. The conspirators neither laid against him, nor pretended any other. The case is therefore purely masonic in its origin and termination. There is nothing extraneous to embarrass the judgment or lead away the thoughts.

When I remark, that the public all know of the trials, I mean that they have heard of them, generally; for I do not believe, that one person in fifty knows any thing more about them. I have followed up the account of them, as far as I have had the means; and especially those that have taken place at Lockport, within the last few months. I have done so in no prejudiced spirit, but with an earnest desire to understand the whole case rightly. They appear to me to unfold one of the most extraordinary incidents that has ever transpired. All the circumstances considered, I know not where we shall seek for its counterpart. It is seen from these trials, that the laws of the land cannot be executed upon the authors of an audacious and bloody conspiracy, although its entire theatre was in one of the most populous parts of the Union, although attempts have been made to enforce them in all practicable ways, for a period now exceeding four years, although the government of the State of New York, has aided, by its immediate countenance and direction,

the public prosecutions, besides having issued commissions of special investigation; and, what is more astonishing than all, although the conspirators, with their aiders and abettors, are, in all probability, known to more than *one hundred persons* belonging to the masonic body, if not to a larger number. That they are certainly known to a great many masons, if to fewer than one hundred, is plain, from lights that must bring conviction home to every dispassionate and sound mind.

Such is the case as it meets us on the threshhold. It is startling. Under a government of laws, and in a season of tranquillity, it must be pronounced an anomaly. It seems a scandal upon the trial by jury, upon the public examination of witnesses, upon our forms of presentment and indictment, upon the power of commitment for not answering legal questions, upon all the modes heretofore the boast of our judicature, for getting at the truth; all of which have been so earnestly, solemnly, yet fruitlessly resorted to. Amidst the din of arms we are told, indeed, that the laws become silent; but that they should so totally lose their authority, at a period of profound peace and general good order, as they have done on this occasion, must arise from some extraordinary and portentous cause. The victory of crime is the opprobrium of the law, and should call forth a spirit of determined inquiry into the cause.

It has been said, that the human bosom is not strong enough to hold the secret of a foul murder. So heavily does it press, that the stoutest heart gives way, seeking relief in the gush of its sin. Hitherto, also, in proportion as the knowledge of the fact of murder has been shared by large numbers of people, has been the ease, the promptitude, we may add, the certainty of detection. But in Morgan's case, we behold the frightful reverse. It stands, in this respect, alone, in the records of criminal jurisprudence. The law-books of ancient and modern times, might safely be invoked for a precedent. The difficulty of keeping the secret of a murder, operated as some safeguard over innocent life. It served in some degree to deter the murderer himself, by making him shrink from the fear of his own thoughts afterwards, and to obstruct his fell plans, from the like fear keeping away accomplices. As by stripes the flesh is made to quiver, so the whips and stings of remorse lacerate the heart. They are internal executioners, from whose torture the guilty cannot escape. But here we behold this safeguard of life put to scorn—one seated in the very conscience of man, and which nothing but the most baleful potions, administered as if by infernals, could ever extirpate. Every sober-minded citizen will be anxious to arrive at the solution of this phenomenon. If a train of evidence altogether irresistible in its direct or circumstantial application, force upon his mind the belief, that its entire and complicated horror is clearly traceable to the confederated and unholy contrivances of bad men who are masons, all his right feeling as a citizen must be shock-

ed. He must stand confounded, at seeing human life and liberty so sported with by a power the more tremendous in its victory over the laws, as it rides in darkness. Good men who are masons, will turn from such conduct with abhorrence. Candid men of the society, on hearing the relation of it, may be disposed to ask themselves, whether all the benefits of masonry, alleged or real, can be a counterpoise for the perils which may thus spring from it, through deluded or depraved zealots, who gain admittance to its sanctuary, and who effectually silence compunction under iniquity, by flying to the misunderstood or perverted ties and obligations of the craft.

If a power shrouded from the day has been found of efficacy sufficient to interpose a fatal obstruction to the great course of public justice where guilt has been so aggravated, are we to suppose that the mischief ends here? That it is a single, an insulated instance? It is impossible. He is weak and credulous who believes it. In the vast and active character and business of masonry, in its close and diversified connections with society at large, whose movements, from behind its own screen, it can watch and follow up at pleasure, it must happen that the streams of justice will often be tainted, on occasions less conspicuous, by the same power. A danger then exists, under the highest moral and even judicial demonstration, which ought to rivet deep attention, and awaken general alarm. Not only has the government of the State of New York lent its efforts in aid of the ordinary process of law, for detecting the culprits in this audacious conspiracy. The government of Upper Canada has stepped forward in co-operation; for it is a characteristic of the conspiracy, that there were strong suspicions of its embracing depraved members of the fraternity in that foreign jurisdiction—so extensive were believed, and on rational grounds, to have been the hideous workings of its malignant sympathies. But all has been in vain. Executive messages, executive acts and proclamations, with the offer of executive rewards, like indictments and jury trials under special courts and judges, (for these too were added,) have all fallen to the ground. The Law is still paralyzed by a hidden agent, that continues to prove stronger than the combined force of its machinery and its ministers; the Lodge of this agent, has become its sepulchre. There it lies, a spectacle for freemen to look at.

In the whole compass of affairs to which government is subservient, there is nothing of such transcendant importance as the faithful and effective administration of justice between man and man, and by the body politic against public delinquents. It is of daily, unceasing emergence. It blends itself with all the wants, duties and necessities, with all the hopes and all the dangers, that belong to the political and social condition of the world. It comes perpetually home to the immediate business and bosom of mankind, the remark so often repeated from Bacon, but which on this subject has its application in exact truth. Hume describes it as the sole end and

aim of all government; and, certainly, if such an administration of justice be wanting, it is not going too far to assert, that the functions of government have stopped in a point that is vital. If we have laws without the power to give them effect, we are in the condition of a people having none; which brings society to a pause. The levy of ship money was among the causes that produced the decapitation of Charles I. and a change in the English dynasty. The tax of three pence a pound on tea, helped to bring on our own revolution. How small such acts in themselves! yet, in union with a quick and well understood spirit of public liberty, how vast their consequences throughout nations, and the posterity of nations! I fear not to say, that neither of them was calculated to press so destructively upon the great fabric of society, as the fact before us, of a secret combination in the heart of the republic, being able to keep the laws at bay in this case of the murderers of Morgan; so long to trample upon, so long to triumph over them. The apathy prevailing under the baffled efforts to probe and fully to punish so great an enormity, is to my mind inexplicable, among a people watchful of their rights, and who would ever be ready, it might have been supposed, to imbody the whole power of society, wherever any one of its members, however humble, was seen to be so ruthlessly struck down. Interposition should have been the more immediate and decided, as the blow was so bold and terrible; as it was given amidst concomitants so unusual, and indicative of so supreme, so insolent a contempt for the laws. If ever an event arose in the annals of any people, that should have made the *whole body* of the public identical with the authority of the magistrate, by a burst of indignation and a concert of efforts, IT WAS THIS. No other feeling ever yet kept permanently alive the spirit of public liberty, or upheld the supremacy and grandeur of the laws. They both die as certainly under torpor, as if crushed by an open despotism. It is one of the ways in which states begin to lose their liberties. It is a deadly opiate, diffusing itself through the political system, against the instillations of which, the patriot heart should be roused by every consideration that can animate it to its highest duties. When the magistrates are seen with the ensigns of authority powerless in their hands, an appeal is made to the inextinguishable allegiance and generous devotion which should bind every citizen to the common weal. The love of public freedom must be shown in the inviolable maintenance of individual rights. We are degenerate Republicans, we are *no* Republicans, otherwise. Morgan's case is no common one. It is of great and inspiring magnitude. Looked at by itself, it may be called detached, or little, by those who little know how to think, or are determined not to think. But, properly weighed by its principles as well as its facts, it is momentous and appalling. It is no case for County Courts. It is for the nation. That is its proper tribunal. Those who will lift up their minds to an enlarged and just

conception of it, instead of keeping down to a superficial and imperfect one, will see it under a connection indissoluble, with a train of public principles, with which are interwoven the interests, the safety and the durable glory of the nation. Let the law, that sheet-anchor of society, come to miss its grapple upon public felons, banded in league together by a principle that exalts their crimes into achievements of merit, and every thing is exposed to wreck and dissolution. The daring and profligate nature of the conspiracy against the liberty and life of this citizen; the inflexible and malignant vigor of purpose with which, step by step, it was pursued to consummation; the cool, the systematic, the inveterate depravity of all the actors in it, have no parallel in the previous history of our country, scarcely in that of any country. I challenge the Spanish Inquisition to exceed it. I boldly invite a search into the archives of that engine of a ferocious despotism, which for four centuries in Europe crushed its unhappy victims with a vengeance so diabolical, under color of vindicating the holy church, to produce a case that goes beyond it. Morgan's immolation was in spirit, almost in form, an *Auto da Fe.* Holy Masonry found its vindicators too. The similitude is close and shocking. It should burn the cheek of every American who contemplates it. The iron clamps that were probably prepared for the feet and hands of Morgan, aptly compare with the chains in which the victim of the inquisition was habited, when trembling on the verge of eternity; whilst the pictures of devouring dogs and serpents that were hung round his neck, completely prefigure the horrid gang of murdering conspirators who plunged their hands in the blood of Morgan.

This case, thus far, is entirely out of the track of all events in a free or well governed community. It befits the grim despotism of dark and superstitious ages and countries. But I am now to present an aspect of it still more extraordinary, still more alarming. How to present it, how to realize it, I am at a loss. It seems a delusion. It doubles all my amazement. I would throw it off as a phantom if I could; but I cannot, and I sink in my feelings as an American citizen, under the mortified and abashed consciousness of its truth. Perhaps I ought to pause ere I advance further. That which I am about to touch, is on all sides encompassed with hazards. A saving energy it has, indeed, for its friends, and knows how and when to exert it; but it can make its blasts howl about the ears of all, who, with unsanctified steps, approach its precincts; blasts as from "Boreas, and Eurus, and Caurus and Argestes, loud." If I followed the counsels of prudence, I should bend the knee in reverence and retreat before it. But I will proceed. At your call, I have taken what I believe to be the cause of public order, and of truth, in hand, and that cause must be my shield. A saying that we had when I was at school, comes into my mind. I scarcely know how to quote it, and must hope for your pardon if I do. It was not *fiat*

justitia, ruat cœlum; but TELL THE TRUTH THOUGH THE DEVIL BE BEFORE YOU. Let it be heard.

Hitherto, when a murder, especially one attended by any startling or unusual circumstances, has been committed by unseen hands, in a country where existed a free press, that great instrument has never failed to raise and to keep up the alarm. It has done more, far more, than writs, and depositions, and search warrants; more than the whole roll of sheriffs, and constables, and deputies, with the *posse comitatus* in their wake, to drag the perpetrators from their cover. By its universal and spontaneous activity, operating like a moral hue and cry, it helps to point aright public vigilance and suspicion. It ministers usefully to public indignation, making it strong and stirring It puts every thing in motion, itself heading the pursuit. It sharpens scrutiny, reinvigorates flagging exertion, smites like inward fire upon the fears and pantings of the skulking felon, and throws out signals of all kinds, a thousand times more valuable, when its mighty trumpet is sounded in a good cause, than any that masonry ever planted upon its mysterious lodges. Need I instance the case of White at Salem? Need I mention that of Thurtell, in England, a few years ago, when the unceasing clangor of their press reverberated even to our shores? Paris never had such a police; society never such a conservative principle. It is omnipresent. Like flashes from the heavens it lights up the entire horizon. Its sweep is from the "orient to the drooping west;" the whole nation its stage, the whole people its audience. What a power in society when directed to proper ends; how resistless, how awful! But, in the case we are considering, with the exception of the comparatively few newspapers antimasonic in special name and object, the Press, as far as I have had opportunities of observing, has been shamefully silent. This best guard of a free state, better than legions of bayonets, this lion at its portals, whose noble nature for the most part it is to spring forward, enraged and uncompromising, upon crime, has been lulled to sleep; has been chained and muzzled; has been faithless; has been criminal. I say criminal. Silence in such a cause, is participation. It shows, in effect, companionship with the murderers, had there been nothing more than silence. It is keeping bands with blood, when a voice, loud, simultaneous, and incensed, should have rung through the land.

May I not justly say that the whole transaction, in every feature in which the public have a right to feel an interest, is an anomaly. Generally it has been the course of the Press, as through a salutary instinct of its nature, to be too quick rather than too slow; to fly at wrong in the remote intention and tendency; to err by inflaming too much, rather than too little. But here, in Morgan's case, with the stain of blood before its eyes, with crime actually perpetrated, and crying for punishment, it shuts its eyes. It becomes suddenly and stupidly blind, or it turns traitor. There is no alternative. The

press on this occasion has fallen into stupefaction, or turpitude; for it cannot so utterly have lost its senses as not to know, that the crime would never have been committed and left unavenged, but for the full and continued existence, in our country, of the masonic obligation. No sophistry can gainsay this position. The evidence of it is flagrant; its foundation is upon a rock. Had a case like Morgan's arisen in 1776; had blood been so atrociously shed, and gone so long unavenged, through any acts of the government then ruling us, or the black doings and subtle hidings of masonry within its borders, I believe that it would have acted upon public opinion like an electric shock, and that our fathers would have sought no stronger cause for prostrating in the dust an open authority or a secret influence, that could so iniquitously prostrate justice. Am I wrong? Do I affirm too much? Am I giving way to feeling, in place of reasoning? No! I speak under the highest of all sanctions, before the American public. Turn to the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, that glorious charter of our liberties, and see if it be not there recorded as one of the causes for dismembering an empire, that the British King, by his odious acts, had obstructed the *administration of justice* in our country. No single case, comparable in atrocity to this of Morgan's, whether as regards the original conspiracy and murder, or the total obstruction of the laws since, ever disgraced the tyranny of that era over us. If one like it had occurred, a town meeting in Boston would have rallied New England to her duty; the fire of Patrick Henry's eloquence would have summoned Virginia to hers; the decree would have gone forth, and monarchy or masonry would have fallen. That the contest with the latter would have been the most difficult, I have no doubt; but down it would have come. Had the universal Press of the country done its duty, in a spirit resolute and lofty as of that day, instead of sluggishly remaining quiet, or ignominiously conniving, this conspiracy against Morgan would long since have been laid bare, and public justice been vindicated. Its voice would have carried consternation into the recesses of every lodge. Its thunders would have shaken their very walls and rafters; their foundations underneath would have rocked, their turrets above would have trembled, and masonry in turn, like the suffering victim of the conspiracy, would have put up its prayer for mercy. Appalled, menaced for its existence, it would have been seen every where in motion. Then, *then*, its activity, its discipline, its terrors, would have been at work to ferret out the deep guilt. Its conclaves would have assembled for no other object, until that object had been attained. The institution would have been placed under accusation; it would have been arraigned before the dread bar of the nation; where, under the majestic inquest of the Press, it would have stood, pale and breathless, waiting its doom. The spectacle would have been sublime! And who can doubt the issue? Who can doubt but that the truth would have come to light? Who can doubt but that

the cloud, all along so dark, would have "*turned her silver lining*' on this plot of death? No one, surely, who has remarked the potency which this institution has ever shown in securing ends on which it chooses to bend its whole purpose, and employ all its exertions. I repeat, then, that the Press has shown a dull insensibility to the high motives and feelings by which it ought to have been fired in this case of enormity, or it has been a traitor to its trust. It ought, forthwith, to have put the masonic institution upon the defensive. That was its true position before society; under a case of conspiracy and crime, planned and executed by those who notoriously belonged to the secret institution. I lay this down as strict reasoning, and so let it be judged; so would I clinch upon the Press the charge of infatuated dereliction or of accessory guilt.

The worst is to be told. For whence this infatuation, or this connivance? Whence this most marvellous exception to all its wonted eagerness and fire? Whence the sudden spiking of that artillery that ever, heretofore, has played its volleys upon crime? Whence, but because the Press itself is under the deleterious enchantments of masonry, or otherwise wears its manacles? whether the iron ones forged for it by the institution itself, or those existing in the influence of readers and patrons, the result is still the same. How else *could* it have happened, that it has withheld from the people the incontestable evidences of masonic guilt, which the repeated and solemn trials in New York have afforded? Does it act in this way on other occasions? Did it even suppress from its columns the publication of the case of the wretched pirate Gibbs, with all its train of particulars, during this present spring? Has not this case—a case certainly of no novelty in its principle—been running the rapid rounds of almost all the papers of the Union? Yet no word have we of the trials at Lockport, that were going on at the same instant; not a whisper, not a breath. All is silent like the tomb. How will the Press shake off the obloquy of such conduct? It cannot shake it off. There is no other explanation of it than the one given. Will it pretend to allege that those trials brought out no evidence of masons' guilt? Will it presume to say, in extenuation, that the murdered remains of Morgan are still unfound? Preposterous, insulting extenuation! Why not publish the evidence itself, and let the people judge; as, at all events, the case had become one of great and commanding public notoriety? If the people were to transfer a portion of their indignation from the murderers of Morgan to those presses of the country that have evinced an anxiety to hush up the foul deed, they would be acting righteously. It would show the Press, by a lesson never to be forgotten, that the people were the true fountain of justice, as well as power.

I feel anxious to stop; but as yet I cannot. I must look round upon the unparalleled scene. It brings with it a weight of thought and feeling that is oppressive. I did not sit down to write a disser-

tation on masonry, nor am I going to give myself to this task. I dwell not upon its remote origin and long history; upon its curious titles; upon its ceremonies, of oriental mould, and celestial exaltation. I dive not into its claims to science, to philanthropy, or to religion. All these I leave, for good or for bad, for censure or for commendation. My concern at present is with none of them. I purposely turn away, that there may be no diversion from the scene I am surveying. I am in a field by itself. There my astonished sight beholds two figures: the State, with the broken sceptre of the laws in her hand, on one side, and Masonry, with a veil over her face, on the other. My vision is distinct, though the spectacle is so portentous! I go not beyond the narrative that presents it. Keeping to that, I am guarded against mistake or confusion. I have here immovable ground under me. I take post as upon the verity of a legal record. A few facts are all that I want, and these I have. I desire to render the case irresistible, by its concentration and its simplicity. I believe that Morgan was seized, carried far from his home by masons, and by masons murdered. I believe that this was the result of a conspiracy, engendered and carried through, under circumstances of peculiar deliberation, malignity, and terror. Yet, to this very hour, the infamous deed remains unpunished. I have watched the pursuit of justice. I see how she is disheartened, fatigued, worn down, by efforts, continued throughout years, to clutch these worse than Calabrian banditti. I see her at fault: I see her countenance in despair. Masons know the whole tale of blood. Who can deny this? Masons conceal it. Who can deny this? Can, then, any sentient, reasonable being say, that masonry is *not* at the bottom of the evil? True, these are depraved masons who act in this manner, and I do not mean to judge all other masons by them; but masonry, corporate, existent masonry, is the root. The abandoned fiends of the order, who know the truth, conceal it on system. They are wicked through principle. They confound crime with virtue; murder with masonic merit. Like imps of pandemonium, they rejoice and dance in their sin. Like the crew in the Mask of Comus, they are unconscious of their "foul disfigurement." The deeper their guilt, the more they make themselves invulnerable. You can no more grasp them, than if they sink into the earth, or mount into the air. Its spirit, inexorable as death, destroyed the life of this citizen; and, like a spirit, it became invisible. It is here—it is there—it is gone; nobody can see it; but society feels it. It is the spirit of night. The magistrate strikes, but it is into vacuity. He follows up the blow, again and again, but it falls upon a shadow. Is all this nothing? Is it to be forgotten; to be mentioned with indifference; to be sneered at as fanfaronade? If the Press has turned deserter, and gone over to the enemy, whose profligate cohorts have overthrown the laws, is that a reason why the people should not be true to themselves? Is the whole army to be given up, because

the sentinels have skulked? If so, where is our intelligence? where our estimate of the popular dignity? where our stern republicanism? where our quick, our exalted sense of country? Where, we may ask, had fled our Jefferson's sagacity, when he told us, that a Republic was the strongest government upon earth, since it was the only form under which, on a breach of the law, every one would fly to its support as a personal concern? Had he heard the opposing spirit of our day, that could spurn the law? Had he heard of the spirit, creeping in darkness, that could not only cover the guilty with an armor impenetrable, but try to throw odium on those who cry out for retribution? Solon, being asked which was the most perfect popular government, replied, That where an injury done to any private citizen is such to the whole body. The blood of a murdered Roman, of one single Roman, could once rouse that whole race of freemen, as by a voice from above. It could call down a just vengeance against all who *caused* the deed. More than once, it changed their government. It expelled the Tarquins; it overthrew the Decemvirs. It kindled a holy enthusiasm, which nothing could appease until the guilty authors were blasted and consumed, that thus the wounded commonwealth, a name sacred in Roman eyes, might have its propitiatory sacrifice. It was so that Roman glory, that work of ages, as Tacitus describes it, that toil of patriots, and statesmen, and legislators, and warriors, was founded and kept pure. But, in our boasted Republic, the blood of an American, who was taken from his home—bound—tortured—agonized—borne by the conspirators along the high roads with an impudent cavalcade of carriages and horsemen—cast into a fortress over which had floated the sovereign flag of the Union—and at last immolated—by harpies belonging to an organized and powerful institution, who conceal their crime under the horrible delusions of their mystic tie—all this is to go for nothing! The institution is not to blame! No! it is no fault of the institution! The immolation is to cause no public dismay. We are to sit still, in stupid gaze; some beholding it with folded arms, others in derision! The Press is silent, or the Press scoffs! The institution even turns complainant. It positively grows belligerent; it shows battle. It will not be "persecuted." It will have no noise made; none of all this flash, and rodomontade, and bluster. The small number who are driving the conspirators into the toils, and permanently breaking up their den, to save the future from all possibility of similar tragedies, are denounced, ridiculed! They are *infected* with "an Antimasonic excitement," they are demagogues, office-hunters; the mere getters-up of a groundless party, without use, or motive, or object! Was ever an intelligent community so treated before? Was ever the understanding of rational men so trifled with? Did ever corporate hardihood, in any age or nation, assume a front so brazen-faced? Let it go on. It works in its proper office. In this manner, let it perpetuate its power of defeating the laws. In

good time we shall have some other "*affair;*" some fresh peccadillo; some new variety in the dramatics of mystery, for an evening's amusement and editors' gibes!

I must hasten to a close. The subject is too fruitful, too painful. My opinions of masonry will be collected from this letter. I would not give them without my reasons; more especially as you admonish me of your intention to publish what I write. No one better knows than I do, that we are surrounded daily by individuals of the order, whose good qualities as citizens all remain pure; whom we respect, and value, and love; and the mind of a really great man, who knows his duty to his country, will soar above all its pernicious obligations. Of this our country has afforded illustrious instances. But after the developements I have given, I must, I do, believe the evils of masonry to be stupendous; I must, I do, believe that they counterbalance, a thousand fold, any good that it can achieve. It follows that I think favorably of the exertions which you and your antimasonic friends, here and elsewhere in the United States, are making to root out its bad influence from the face of our land. I hope that you may continue them with ardor. Taking care that they avoid personal slander or injustice, let them fall short of no just means that may give promise of success. You have a vigorous foe; but fact, and argument, and the force of truth, are with you. Employ these weapons vigorously on your side. If you do make up but a small band, more is the honor to your public spirit; and more the reproach to those who remain insensate under an attack so high-handed upon life and liberty, where guilt has been so presumptuous, where the bloody league continues, as malevolent as ever, unbroken, unabashed. Jenkins, the Englishman, when under torture by the Spaniards, and expecting death from those who were mutilating him, commended, says the English historian, his soul to his God, and his cause to his country. But where is Morgan's country? Where the avenging arm for him? As yet, he has found none. Unrelenting and bloodthirsty conspirators could even dare to convert a fortress of the republic into his dungeon. Monsters in human shape, they thrust him into the cavern of death. But who takes up the cause of his wrongs? I perceive tens of thousands marshalled against it; but who espouses it? There are none but you. Go on then in your course. You are under the broad banner of the law, of patriotism, of humanity, of public order, of private safety; the banner of right reason and of right feeling. You have all the motives that can urge good citizens to action. You have shown that you are not afraid of masonry, or bound by its spell; and as to those who chant its praises, say to them all, that they are as dust in the balance to the unfathomable guilt which bad men of the brotherhood have forever fastened upon it; and that the only way to stop the stream of blood and pollution, which you have detected simply in Morgan's case, is to dry up the fountain. Say that you will never cease from your en-

deavors to break down a power in the country, which has shown it self, in the face of millions if they will but look, to be an overmatch for the laws. Keep up an eternal battery against its dangers. "*I like a clamor,*" said Burke, "*where there has been outrage; the fire bell at midnight breaks your sleep, but it saves you from being burned.*" We have been told that masonry is too strong to be put down; that such attempts have been made in European countries, but have failed. Let this animate you but the more. Already it has been the glory of America to set Europe the example of conquest over public abuses, in many memorable ways. It may be her further glory to be the first to dispel the solemn folly, and break the tyrannical fetters of masonry. The day that shall witness this triumph among us, may well deserve to stand next in our celebrations to the Fourth of July.

In the momentous nature of the general principles I have had under review, I had almost lost sight of a point personal to myself, which your letter embraces, but which I must not omit to answer. It is, whether I am a mason or not? I have to say that I am not. Many years ago, I became an "entered apprentice," went to a Lodge once,—and but once. On my return from England, after an absence in the service of the United States, I voluntarily withdrew from the body, by a letter to that effect. My separation from it was in 1826, before the murder of Morgan was known to me, and had no connection with the just indignation which that deed excited among a portion of the citizens of New York. I am happy to find that this feeling is shared by some of the citizens of our State; yourselves as a portion of my immediate neighbors and friends amongst the rest.

I remain, with great respect and esteem,

Your friend and fellow citizen,

RICHARD RUSH.

CORRESPONDENCE.

BOSTON, MAY 21, 1831.

HON. RICHARD RUSH—

Sir—The Convention of Delegates from the various parts of this commonwealth, lately assembled in this city to adopt such measures as might conduce to the suppression or counteraction of *Free Masonry*, have deputed the undersigned, as their organs, to express to you the high sense entertained by themselves and by the numerous class of their fellow citizens, whom they represented in that body, of your powerful and eloquent exposition in your recent letter, of the same portentous evil. The infatuation of a numerous body of men in a free country and in an enlightened state of society, which could trample upon the rights of humanity and silence the voice of reason and the suggestions of conscience, so far as to shed the blood of its victim, is by your pen depicted in colors so glowing, as to impress conviction upon every mind.

It must inspire our fellow citizens, through the Union, with increasing confidence in the ultimate success as well as in the rectitude of their cause, when they find themselves sustained by the sagacity, learning and experience of the most eminent statesmen and scholars of our country. If the Press has been bribed or awed into silence, and has suffered the community to slumber in delusive security with an enemy lurking among them and clandestinely seizing the strong holds of their liberty,—it is to the wisdom, and virtue, and eloquence of those, whose counsels have hitherto always been heard with deference and followed with success, that the people must look to enlighten and to guide them.

While we recoil with horror at the depravity and wickedness, which led to the immolation of a devoted martyr by a horde of desperate ruffians, instigated by a fraternity arrogating to itself the privileges of despotic power over its deluded subjects, and believe with you, that violations of private and personal right less flagrant would, in the glorious era of our early history, even in the absence of other grievances, have kindled the flame of revolution, permit us to advert to *other evils*, which have long existed, though but partially perceived by the community in which we live, and which have

arisen and grown up in the exuberant soil of Free Masonry. Not to mention the prodigal waste of time, nor the consumption of the means required for purposes of charity, in vain display or convivial indulgences, we cannot but regard the process of induction and initiation through the various degrees of the craft, as unfolding a series of ceremonies equally puerile and degrading. These are objections to the order of Masonry, which are chiefly confined to the members themselves, and to their families. There are others, which reach the whole community, and which tend to contaminate the streams of social intercourse, and to poison the sources of confidence and integrity in every part. In every city and village the combined support and patronage of an affiliated corps, known to each other by concerted signals of recognition, but unknown to all beside, acting in concert against the unconscious ranks of their fellow citizens, must speedily produce the most striking results, in elevating the objects of their preference to office and wealth, and in depressing their competitors in the same proportion.

Such a course of action and such results have long been discernible through the wide extent of masonic influence. Nor is it doubted, that advantages of the nature alluded to have been among the strongest allurements, especially to youthful and aspiring candidates, to seek its protection and its aid in the acquisition of patronage and promotion, to the exclusion of others of equal or superior pretensions, but whose merits have thus been left to languish in obscurity and despondence. The strong temptation thus held out to seize the fruit without the labor of its cultivation has probably been the chief incentive to the votaries of the order. The tedious repetition of senseless forms and the endurance of degrading mummeries would never have been submitted to by so many aspirants, from mere *curiosity* to explore the vaunted mysteries of the craft, without the stimulus of benefits more certain and substantial. Here too we may easily discern the real magnet, which even now sustains and holds together the congregated mass of freemasons through our land, overcoming the strong disapprobation daily more audible in the utterance of public opinion. Of public opinion masonry has no fear; for its decrees masonry has no respect. Arrayed in panoply of mys terious temper, shrouded in impenetrable secrecy, surrounded by thousands of blind adherents, and in possession of the strong-holds of power and patronage, she hurls defiance and threatens destruction to her assailants. "She fears nothing from violence, for she has every means to counteract, defeat and punish it."

To intimate the possibility that masonic oaths and obligations have entered the halls of justice, and mingled their abominations in the purity of its administration, has been thought too bold a suggestion. And surely the quiet of society must be fatally disturbed, if the suspicion is awakened, that the security of our property and our lives is to be sported with by such pernicious influences. Yet certainly

the murderers of one victim have been screened by those influences. Hence it is evident the danger exists, and hence the vigilance of all, who seek their rights in Courts of Justice, is inevitably aroused, and their eye anxiously roves through the list of those who are to determine the controversy. Beyond the immediate limits of the scenes alluded to in a sister State, these dangerous tendencies of masonic obligations have not been equally obvious, perhaps to very great extent may not have existed. Yet henceforth *those* corrupt trials, sanctioned as they seem to be, certainly not disavowed, by the fraternity, must infuse the poison of their example through the entire sphere of its influence. The danger is neither imaginary nor trifling; and even the jealousies, engendered by the morbid condition of communities where masonry blends its uncongenial principles with the elements of society, must materially weaken the veneration of the public for judicial decisions, and thus endanger one of the strongest pillars of our happy institutions.

With the deceptive character of the pretensions of masonry to scientific excellence and to extraordinary charity, the public have been made fully acquainted by the disclosures of some of the most candid and respectable of its members, who have had the courage to abjure their allegiance. These comparatively harmless boasts, and even its puerile ceremonies and its ridiculous pageantry, we willingly leave to be quietly practised and enjoyed in the recesses of the Lodge. But the evils we would avert or exterminate, and to which we have before alluded, are of such a nature, that the fabric of society is endangered by their continuance. Gladly will we hail the day, when masons shall renounce their exclusive privileges, and abjure the oaths and obligations which conflict with their duties as citizens and Christians. Their fellow citizens would receive them with cordiality, and restore them to their confidence and esteem. Hitherto seceders from their ranks have encountered the hatred and obloquy of the whole order, by their intrepid and virtuous course. The independence and courage required to form and execute a resolution to secede, can only be found in a few superior minds. Without doubt the great majority of the fraternity, less interested and less prejudiced than their privileged and exalted dignitaries, would be easily induced to relinquish the ties and the trappings with which they find themselves encumbered. But the arts and exertions of *the few* inflame their pride and their prejudices, by misrepresenting our efforts and charging us with proscription and persecution. We trust, however, the day approaches when the public voice shall be so loud and so unanimous, that the infatuated and spell-bound devotees of masonic delusion shall be awakened to reason, and shall joyfully fly from the dangers which beset them, to the long deserted ranks of their fellow citizens and friends.

In the pleasure and satisfaction at such a result of their labors, the opponents of masonry will forget the unmerited reproaches so

often repeated, of being disturbers of the quiet of their neighbors, promoters of quarrels, fomenters of jealousies, selfishly ambitious of honor and office, and whatever else the desperation of masonic zealots now alleges against them. It will be for them a high reward to see their present adversaries liberated from the meshes of a mischievous delusion, and their country relieved from an inveterate evil. This pleasure will be greatly heightened by the reflection that in effecting their object they have coincided in the views, and in a humble degree contributed to the success, which yourself and other eminent and highly gifted citizens have been so conspicuous in accomplishing.

We tender you, Sir, in behalf of the Convention, the assurance of our high respect and consideration.

TIMOTHY FULLER, *President.*

STEPHEN P. GARDNER,
ABNER PHELPS,
EPAPHRAS HOYT,
MICAH H. RUGGLES. } *Vice Presidents.*

MR. RUSH'S ANSWER.

YORK, PENNSYLVANIA, JUNE 30, 1831.

GENTLEMEN.—Your communication dated the 21st of May, and bearing the Boston post-mark of the 21st of this month, reached me on the 26th instant, which I mention as it will account for what might otherwise seem a long interval between its date and this acknowledgment.

The favorable sentiments which, as delegates of a Convention lately assembled in Boston from various parts of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to adopt measures for the suppression of Freemasonry, you have been pleased to express of the views which I have given to the public upon this subject, yield me a very solid satisfaction. They naturally and powerfully tend to confirm in my own mind the soundness of those views. They demand all my acknowledgments, which I beg leave to tender to you, fully and sincerely. You have yourselves presented views of the subject, other than those which I took, that are full of importance. The subject indeed is of great extent, and may be usefully discussed under a variety of aspects, as different minds may be differently affected towards it; and thus the aggregate of separate contributions will in good time make up the entire volume of light with which it ought to be encompassed.

In the letter which has drawn forth your obliging communication to me, it was my object to hold up the dangers of Masonry as seen in the contest it has waged with the LAW in Morgan's case, and the victory it has won. That part of the subject, and, in direct connection with it, the enslavement of so great a portion of our Newspa-

per press to Masonry, were those upon which alone I meant to dwell. I thought these points plain and practical, and the ground under each so strong, that it was impossible not to stand firmly upon it. As further reflection leads me to think it still stronger than at first, and as I have now, in addition, your valued approbation, besides that of others of my fellow citizens whose approbation cannot but be flattering, I will claim your indulgence whilst I throw out a few more ideas under the same heads, and perhaps incidentally upon some others. It is of the Law of which I chiefly desire to speak, in its connection with Masonry, because it is of the utmost moment that its true doctrines should be understood. Not only do all our civil rights depend upon the true understanding of them, but also our public liberty. First, however, of the Press.

The thraldom of the press was evinced by its general silence under the foul deed of Morgan's abduction and murder; or by the absence of that decided indignation with which it ought to have followed it up, such as the press is sure to manifest in other cases where great crimes are perpetrated; or, what was more disreputable still, by not unfrequently treating the whole subject with levity, making it the occasion of coarse ribaldry and unseemly merriment. The friends of the press will have cause to blush as often as this part of its history in our country is recalled. They will feel shame in recollecting, that when the liberty and life of a citizen were struck down by a conspiracy of extraordinary boldness and malignity, an immense majority of the American press, as far as I had any means of knowing, to repeat the expression of my former letter, if it spoke at all, would not speak out; that against all its nature and habits, it grew tame; or even if at first, to save appearances, it did make some demonstrations, and show a guarded indignation, that it soon drew in, becoming indifferent, becoming blind, to an unspeakable outrage, that it knew to be still unavenged. In fact, that it laid down its vigilance, its intelligence and its spirit, at the footstool of Freemasonry. More reprehensible than all:—that reversing its true duties, it absolutely exerted its spirit and launched forth its virtuous horror only against those who embarked in the pursuit of justice, by branding that pursuit as an unnecessary "*excitement*;" and that finally, in effect, it passed over—the necessary consequences of its measured step against the crime in the beginning—to the side of the offending party, where now it is seen in full juxtaposition, administering to Masonry the comfort which it needs in this remarkable fellowship. Such, in a word, has been the course of the press. Often, in other times and countries, it has been silenced by arbitrary will, or bought up by corrupting gold; but in this country, it has been bestrodden by Masonry. Servitude under any circumstances, is humiliating; but in the lowest depth, there is a lower deep; and that our press should have bowed down in worship to this Idol, is the step into that deep. A late writer on the "Principles of Morality," Dymond, whose ear-

ly death those wno stand high in letters in Britain deplore as a public loss, whilst discussing the subject of newspapers, utters this striking opinion; "*that there are some creditable editors who do harm in the world, to an extent in comparison with which robberies and treason are as nothing.*" I give the passage in his own emphatic words. If this searching writer, as he has been called,—he was of the society of Friends, and an honor to that society,—could have witnessed in the United States the subjection of a large band of editors to Masonry, he would not surely have revoked his opinion. On the contrary, astonishment and disgust must have taken possession of his bosom at perceiving how the press, in a country proud of its freedom, could have come under such a yoke; and, being under it, how it could pass from absurdity to absurdity, at one time losing itself in a confusion of the understanding, at another in a tornado of passion, in attempts to excuse itself for not doing its duty to the public under an event as authentic as ever arose in any country, for drawing out all its honest and most uncompromising indignation.

The National Intelligencer of the 11th of this month, now lies before me. This newspaper has long been published in the capital of the Union. For high and various merit, I do not believe that it is exceeded by any journal in this, or in any country. Its conductors do honor to a profession as noble and useful in its honorable exercise, as it is mischievous and unworthy in its abuse. Elevated in mind, they never, whatever their own views of subjects, fail to state fairly the views of those from whom they differ, and never to my remembrance have they, in the whole course of their career, soiled their columns with personal indecorums. Yet, what do my eyes behold? This paper, candid as it is, faithfully as it disseminates all other information, ably as it discusses all other questions, will not touch that of Antimasonry. It will not permit itself "*to be instrumental in fomenting an excitement, which, prevailing extensively in some parts of the country, had its origin in the indignation justly excited by the abduction some years ago of a person by the name of Morgan!*" A PERSON BY THE NAME OF MORGAN!! Thus do these experienced editors speak of the case as if it were still new to a large part of their numerous readers; which probably was the fact. It seems to have been the first time that they had meddled with it, and it is intimated that their press will meddle with it no more. Is not this enough to shock us? Will more proof be called for, except by the infatuated, of the bowing down of the press before the unseen, wide-sweeping scourge of the Masonic Institution? The estimable citizens no less than accomplished editors to whom, and to whose press, I here venture to allude in furtherance of the principle I have in hand, may be well assured that it is done in not the slightest spirit of personal disesteem. They are themselves, I dare to say, unaware of the controlling influences under which they labor; they do not perceive how they breathe them in with the social atmos-

phere; how they are dripping with the deleterious damps of Masonry, without knowing how they come, any more than the damps of the night.

As to the LAW, never in any age or nation was it more completely laid prostrate by any power, than masonry has done it in the case of Morgan. If this be not enough to consign it to reprobation in a free state, there is nothing else that will. We have been wont to talk of the law being SOVEREIGN with us; but it is MASONRY that is sovereign, as things now stand. This is no unconsidered assertion. I shall proceed to the proof, with a confidence than which the human mind never would be justified in feeling more, on any moral proposition. It rests on evidence strong as adamant, though it be not all technical evidence. It rests on principles coëxtensive with the civilized world; principles out of which empires have arisen, and will arise again. Did our fathers of '76 consult Gilbert's law of evidence, or the chapter in Hawkins, to know if every act of oppression against them could be technically proved in court? Did the English of 1688, or the French of last July, stand upon such doctrine? The public safety is not thus to be cavilled away. It is not, as lord Chatham said, to depend upon books with the leaves turned down in dogs ears. Every successive day that finds the murder of Morgan unavenged, marks a continuation of the outrage which the longer existence of masonry in our country, carries with it; as the masons who committed it, or who knew of it, still elude punishment by clinging to their masonic obligations, which they hold to be superior to the law. Though it be even admitted, that this arises from fanaticism in them, which perverts the true intention of the masonic obligation, society equally suffers and is equally outraged. When the institution, affecting to complain of "*persecution*," exclaims, "*punish the guilty, but not the innocent*," it falls into a mockery, which affronts society anew; for it is the very masonic obligation itself, which never would have place but for the institution, that enables the guilty to elude the law. When, too, the Institution, rearing its presumptuous crest to a parallel with Christianity, tells us that crimes committed in the name of the latter are not allowed to recoil upon religion, and claims for masonry the same indulgence, it advances a claim more audacious than absurd; a claim that no unbiased mind will notice, unless to remark upon its greater sacrilege than sophistry; as if the oaths, and grips, and mysteries, and titles, and the whole train of antics, in alliance with which masonry finds it indispensable to perform her charities, were all of sacred origin; all *jure divino*, like the claim of monarchs of old to their thrones. The thoughts of such a parallel, make masonry doubly hateful, showing that it is blown up by impious inflation; that not content with causing murder upon earth, it is for mounting up afterwards into heaven.

But its pretensions to religion form a branch of the discussion in-

to which I did not go, nor do I desire to go. The only concern that society at large can have with masonry politically, is on the ground of its doing a positive injury to society. What its predilections may incite it to cherish in theory or enact in practice, within its own walls, those outside need not care about. Let it employ itself as any other benevolent, or festive, or theological brotherhood, if any or all such it constitutes, with its own duties and pastimes, as long as it keeps within its own limits. But the line must never be passed. It exists permissively, under the license of society. The continuance of its charter, depends upon its innocent conduct. This must be unequivocal and invariable. There must be no exception collaterally, any more than directly. The moment it is discovered that persons belonging to this brotherhood can conspire against the liberty and life of a citizen who had broken no law of the land, but merely some of its own edicts, and when these persons can escape detection by persuading themselves that the voluntary oaths and other self-assumed obligations which bind them to the brotherhood are of higher authority than the laws, no matter under what mistaken notions of those oaths and obligations they act, from that moment the whole Institution, from which such rank delusions and tremendous perils proceed, assumes a new relation to society. It is placed in the attitude of an aggressor. It rides over the laws. It is *guilty;* constructively if you will, but obviously and legally guilty. It stands responsible for the blood of a citizen. In vain it may allege that its precepts inculcate obedience to the laws, whilst its ignorant or wicked members violate them through a feeling which the Institution generates, in their minds at least. The cry that it is "*persecuted*, is a contradiction to common sense. It can no longer claim protection like other bodies of men, united for their own purposes. Society and such an Institution cannot exist in safety together, and the latter must give way. The first principles of society, all the securities that keep it from flying asunder, stamp this reasoning with truth. It springs from the first impulses of the mind, and is ratified by the covenants of every code. No lawyer, no judge, no publicist, in whatever clime he may live, unless his understanding be subdued by masonry, can gainsay its force. The master is answerable for the servant, the superior for the inferior, the party paramount for him who acts under influence. The very dog unchained, who does injury in the streets, fixes liability upon the owner. These are primordial maxims of jurisprudence, locally and universally. They lie at the foundation of individual, social, and political safety. No governments, no communities, none of the links of civil life, could hold together a day without their shield. They are the cement of each within itself, and of all to each other. Let it not be said that the responsibility is for civil misconduct, not crime. This is a distinction that can avail masonry nothing. Nobody dreams of indicting innocent masons for the murder of Morgan; but only of

putting an end to the Institution for the sufficient reason that guilty masons took his life through an ignorant misunderstanding or corrupt perversion of their ties to that Institution. It is this that brings legal guilt home to the Institution, on the question now raised as between itself and society. It shows the Institution to have been the moving spring to the crime; the influence paramount that instigated it; the superior power, I do not say that commanded—this is not necessary to the argument—but that *caused* the crime. Here is enough, (unless indeed this fungus of human device, this mere craft of man, is to go on with its claim to co-equality with Christianity,) quite enough, to bring it under the broad conservative maxim of the law to which I appeal. We must look at the maxim in its highest reason; not merely as one to be pleaded in a court of common law, but designed, in the far wider range of its dignity and justice, to throw its protection over mankind. We make Masonry amenable to it, in the only way in which the American people, in their collective capacity, can apply its saving efficacy; viz: by insisting that the institution which caused the crime, be dissolved. The great coroner of the nation—such would the press have been on this emergency if it had not shamefully deserted its post—holding an inquest over the dead body of Morgan, could render no other verdict, if the verdict covered the whole ground, than that he came to his death by Masons, *and through Masonry.* If the verdict were qualified by saying the *bad* spirit of Masonry, not its good, what difference would this make to the nation, seeing that Masonry, in some form or other, was the source of the whole transaction? To the nation therefore is Masonry, upon the soundest principles of law, accountable for his death. The safety of the people is THE SUPREME LAW, which will disdain all shadowy distinctions in a case of this magnitude and concern. It is from Masonry that the Commonwealth has received detriment in the destruction of a citizen, and the old custom of Rome should be revived: the people must take care that it receives no more.

This conservative maxim of jurisprudence, is seen in its broadest application, when in force between nation and nation. The entire family of independent nations, acknowledge its indisputable validity. Hence governments, and, consequently, nations, are held responsible for a mere indignity offered to the person of a citizen of another nation, although the nation, collectively, within whose limits the indignity may have been committed, be free from all imputation of an intentional guilt. History abounds with such facts, and with accounts of wars, followed up to the overthrow of nations, growing out of them. I might mention, as a very fresh illustration of the general doctrine, the course just pursued by France in despatching a squadron to the Tagus, to avenge the degrading treatment shown to a French subject in Lisbon, although it would appear to have been denied that the Portuguese king (Don Miguel) had given any sanc-

tion to the outrage; for the French minister's note of reclamation, does not undertake positively to say that it had his sanction. Had Lisbon even been bombarded, and its innocent inhabitants suffered, it would be nothing more than we have seen, in effect, in analogous cases among independent nations. Yet masonry, in defiance of all this, in defiance of the absorbing and transcendent nature of public rights, whether as claimed and exercised so invariably by states within themselves, or internationally, affects to think that it is not to answer for an offence committed by the immediate members of its own body, *acting from a spirit infused into them by that body.* The latter ingredient makes the case far stronger than the one just cited, or any other likely to occur between states; not to mention other enormities in the case of Morgan that recoil *de jure*, and, as we shall see presently, *de facto*, too, upon the lodge. But what am I saying? Why do I forget myself? With governments, masonry will hold no parallel; with nations it will hold no parallel; nothing but Christianity is its compeer! The lodge and the Church are ever in celestial glory coupled. Christianity is not answerable for the bad deeds of Christians; therefore, masonry must not be answerable for the bad deeds of Masons! Such is the consummate blasphemy of masonic logic. Sometimes, indeed, it will stoop a little. It will transiently condescend to compare itself with the senate of the United States; or, being fond of old things, to the old revolutionary congress. It is in the matter of *secrecy*, that it thus comes below its heavenly aspirations. The comparison purports, that as nations sometimes transact their affairs with closed doors, the *nation of Freemasons* have also a good right to close theirs eternally, with the superaddition, *en bagatelle*, of eternal oaths and penalties, lest they come to be opened.

Let us look into the moving spring of all this self-exaltation. It may not lie so much below the surface, as that common penetration cannot easily get to it, if it will but be exerted. I am unwilling to transgress upon your kindness, by making my letter too long; but the subject is full of interest.

The public have so long been familiarized to the name of freemasonry, and it urges its claims upon the public so imperiously, that we have not yet learned to treat it as it deserves to be treated; that is, with nothing more nor less than justice. Through the same cause, its own sensibilities have got into the worst state of morbidness, so as to be vulnerable to the slightest touch. Wrapping itself up in its exclusiveness, it has no ear for the truths of this world. It seems as if neither its understanding nor its moral faculty, could be reached by them. It asks a standard by which to be judged applicable to no association of individuals of subordinate and secular organization, in existence. If this standard be denied, it puts forth complaints of hardship, and anon falls into paroxysms of fury, as if the foundations of the world were struck at;

Assumes the God,
Affects to nod,
And seems to shake the spheres.

This is ever its magisterial port. Remote ages are invoked, and names of renown among the quick and the dead; the cardinal virtues are marshalled as testimonials, beaming like the fires of Eleusis, to overpower the scepticism, or silence the contumacy of all who presume to breathe a doubt against its purity, or raise a finger against its sway. It is fit, says Bacon, that we sometimes burn incense where bad odors have been raised. So it is with masonry. Thousands who join it by crossing the threshold of a lodge but once in their lives, because they find that once enough, know no more of what passes there afterwards, than of what is going on in the regions to which Ulysses descended. But by setting out these names, by dwelling upon by-gone centuries, and unrolling the faded catalogue of its other merits, which the uninitiated are to take upon the credit of its own knights in buckler, it seeks to draw aside the understanding from a scrutiny into its more recent achievements, and all its existing deserts. It may be profitable to detach ourselves, for a moment, from these demands upon our reverence, and look at the case before us under a change in the outward circumstances, but of none whatever in the real substance. This mode of viewing it, may open an avenue through which the judgment can pass, without the common hinderances, to right conclusions on the character and deeds of masonry.

Let us suppose, then, that a new society had been formed in the United States about five years ago, under a name before unknown to us, and modelled, we will also say, after one abroad; for example, in Constantinople. For convenience, we will give it a name. We will suppose it to have been called, "*The brethren of the Sun and Moon, companions of the Stars, and Knights of the crimson turban.*" Let us suppose that some of the members of this society, a dozen we will say, had, with the aid of certain signs known among themselves, and to all Moslems, but of which others knew nothing, laid a conspiracy against the liberty and life of one of our people, and destroyed both, for breaking some of its own self-created rules. Our supposition includes the idea of secrecy, as fundamental to their rules; and it regards the society as composed of Americans as well as foreigners. Let us further and lastly suppose, that these titled and turbaned associators had then, by virtue of certain cabalistical vows that bound them to their society and to each other with an energy, as if inscribed on the banner of the prophet, continued to defy, for full four years out of the five of the society's existence, all our courts and juries to convict them of this conspiracy and murder, although their guilt was so flagrant, that no intelligent mind would think of doubting it:—what would not have been the feeling of the people every where against such a society, and what lawful means

would have been left untried for its suppression? Now, here is the case of Morgan and Masonry, simply, but substantially stated. The only defect is, that, for brevity's sake, I concede too much to Masonry in the case assumed.

And is there any thing in the masonic society that should exempt it from the fate to which such a new-born society would have been exposed? What is it that gives to the former, privileges beyond any other association of men, that we should not honestly and fearlessly denounce it, and trample upon it, as its own adherents trample upon the law? What is the meaning of the statutes of *præmunire*, of which the horn-books of the law give us an account? Do we not know, that the essence of the offence at which they were levelled, consisted in introducing into the land a power above the law? something that prevented its fair execution? And has not masonry done this very thing in Morgan's case? Who will say that prohibitory statutes might not be enacted against the institution in New York? There would have been little hesitation, we may be assured, in bringing the Turkish society, the case of which I have put, under the sharpest penal legislation, if it had not been made to disappear under more immediate bursts of public detestation. And on what plea should masonry escape? Its antiquity? This is precisely the strongest reason for putting it down. Ancient abuses are sure to be the most formidable in every community disfigured by their existence. They make a claim to sanctity on this ground, like the English rotten borough system, and work evil the more fatally under every form. Time is a power, which the artful play off upon the credulity of mankind. Do we require the proof? How else could it have happened, that Masonry has stood even to this day in a country like ours, whilst indulging itself in pageantries and taking to itself titles, that have not only been banished from European countries, but that surpass all Asiatic exaggeration, and have been forced to seek refuge in the uncivilized, or ruffian tastes of such courts as Timbuctoo and Algiers? Positively, there is an excess in them, a picture of elaborate burlesque, revolting to all rationality, and that might well startle the fabled Momus, could he raise his visor to behold them. The explanation is historical, but where is any longer the excuse? Whatever the more recent date of its regular formation in Britain, Masonry rose up in Europe, in times full of barbarism. It has remained at anchor, surrounded by its prejudices, whilst the current has borne the rest of society onward, enlightening it in all ways, but in none more than in getting rid of mysticism and pomposity, not only in government, but in all the concerns of life. To these two attributes, masonry clings with an especial tenacity. She would have the world imagine, that the charity which other societies can dispense with a simplicity befitting this virtue, and which heaven teaches every man to bestow with open palm upon his brother man, though he be no brother mason, must all be performed in conjunction with

mimic signs, the memorials of a rude and tyrannous age. It was an age, when the strength of the human understanding was displayed by its belief in astrology; when freedom was shown by the vassalage of the common people; and when barons and bishops, not being able to write their names, made their significant marks instead thereof; after the fashion, we may suppose, of some of the still enduring symbols of freemasonry! Such was its peculiar age, such the advancement of intellect, such the condition of civil liberty in the atmosphere of which it inhaled its nutriment. An appropriate and beneficial pattern for moulding the principles and warming the affections of American republicans!

The follies over which time throws its mantle in the case of this Institution, are egregious and grotesque. Any mind that will contemplate them in the abstract rather than the concrete, must get awake to their exorbitancy. But these might be overlooked, perhaps, on the principle of leaving all men to the fruition of their own tastes, did not time do much more for masonry. Its awful hoar becomes a cover for its downright enormities. This is a strong expression, but not too strong:—not strong enough—as what I am now to state will prove—The fiends *who actually took the life of Morgan*, have not, as we know, to this hour been discovered; but some of the brotherhood, who had a hand in the conspiracy, have been convicted and sent to prison. Will it be credited, that these convicts are still permitted to retain their membership in the New York lodges? *This is the fact.* They are the companions of felony in the jail, and of masonry out of it; one day consorting with the brotherhood of malefactors; the next, with their own brotherhood! You, gentlemen, are probably aware of this fact. I derive it not from the anti-masonic newspapers, alone, but recently through other channels; for at first, I thought there must be some mistake, and abstained from mentioning it in my former letter. It seemed too much for belief. Would not language have failed to convey the sense of universal indignation, had any other society than that of ancient freemasonry fallen into such conduct? Would not any other have been blasted by every tongue, every pen, every *press* in the nation? Let the presses devoted to masonry answer. But how many of them have blazoned to the world this *masonic* enormity? Perhaps they have not known of it? Benighted sentinels, they are always in ignorance! Perhaps they wait for the technical evidence? Cautious sentinels, they are never too quick in firing! no, not *at* masonry, for the world; but O! how prompt, how valiant, how terrible the discharge at its foes! how the trumpet of war sounds! how the clans assemble! how the towers of the lodge universal are manned! what signals are given out! what chivalry is poured forth! how

> Masonic drums, enthusiastic,
> Are beat with types, instead of a-stick.

The last conflagration itself seems approaching when masonry is threatened. This is all in virtue of its antiquity. Its liege subjects bow down in homage, and being "ungirt and uncovered" after the olden time, pledge to their idol "life and limb and terrene honor." This is ancient masonry. This is the institution that claims respect for its antiquity, reverence for its purity, and support because it is "*persecuted;*" the institution that takes convicts to its arms, and receives them into its holiest places! If a Juvenal should rise up among us, here is a masonic scene worthy of immortal verse, or there is none such to be found in the satires of the Roman bard.

A few more reflections, and I will conclude. When masonry calls the name of Washington to its aid, it commits a profanation, rivalling, in its way, the murder of Morgan as a public crime. It is difficult to speak of it and maintain a proper decorum; as if that matchless patriot and hero, he who founded our Republic and therefore gave it its laws, who led us through the countless trials of a seven years' war without a single violation of the law, as if he, could he have lived to see the day when a band of conspirators from the brotherhood, would ferociously murder a citizen and then defy the law, under oaths and salvoes, which, but for masonry, they never would have dreamed of,—as if he would not have been the very first to uproot all its foundations, could he have witnessed this spectacle. As surely as he always vindicated the supremacy of the law, so surely would he have given up masonry when he found it stronger than the law. As surely as he tore to pieces his oath of allegiance to George III., that once bound him to monarchy, so surely would he have given to the winds all the extra-judicial and bombastical oaths that once bound him to masonry. There are some persons belonging to this institution, who cannot, or who will not reason upon the subject of it; but from enlightened and candid masons we may hope otherwise; and before the great body of the public we have a right to expect, that it will be considered and treated like any other source of danger to the public. Its charity, like all other virtue, would survive the stroke of death, and find other channels through which to diffuse its relief among the sons of men. Above all, masonry is out of place in the United States. It is a hideous exotic. It is foreign in its original conception, and in all its present habits. Its complication and concealments are not American, nor its ceremonial, nor any part of its hyperbolical nomenclature. An atmosphere of political freedom and openness, is not its element. It has nothing fairly to do here, and as its spirit is active, it will be doing mischief. The wonder is, that it should have existed as long as it has done under institutions so totally opposite in genius, to its entire creed and operations. It is too exclusive, too demanding, too intense in its sympathies within its own orbit, to have favor with a people jealous of all movements apart from their own body, where no oaths tie down, no mysteries darken the path of conduct. It has escaped

the hand of American reform chiefly, because to the bulk of the people, it has remained unknown; but now that a stupendous crime against society, committed *through masonry*, and remaining unpunished *through masonry*, has inexorably fastened public scrutiny upon the institution, its numberless other incongruities with our system, political and social, are driven one after another from their lurking places, and the glory of its overthrow, it is hoped, will be added to the many other victories of American good sense, over ancient abuses. May it be swept from our land, like the rotten borough system from England, which, in its time, has had stout defenders. The privileges of such a relic of other days, as old Sarum, the ultra aristocracy used to say, were as valuable there, as some amongst us would have it believed those of the lodge are here; but as they are about to have their jubilee in England for the extirpation of the one monster, let us have ours for the extirpation of the other. Each celebration would attest the triumph of reason over folly, tyranny and craft; and their simultaneous echoes, could they be heard together, would alike redound to the honor as well as durable advantage of both nations.

I have the honor to remain,
with great respect,
your obedient servant,
RICHARD RUSH.

To the Hon. Timothy Fuller, *President*, and

Stephen P. Gardner,
Abner Phelps,
Epaphras Hoyt,
M. H. Ruggles, Esq'rs. } *Vice Presidents of the Anti-masonic Convention of Massachusetts.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

LANCASTER, AUGUST 9, 1831.

HON. RICHARD RUSH—

SIR,—The election of an able and decided opponent of the masonic institution, to the office of President of the United States, is an object of the utmost importance to the cause of antimasonry. The nomination of a candidate for that office is, therefore, deeply interesting to the friends of real democracy, genuine reform, and the equal rights of the people.

The antimasons of this vicinity, impressed with the knowledge of your worth and public services, and sensible of your openly-avowed devotedness to antimasonry, and of the very efficient aid which you have rendered to it, would be highly gratified at your being selected as the candidate for the Presidency, by the National Convention, in September next. We do not undertake, on this subject, to speak for the antimasons of other and distant parts of the country; but we believe their sentiments generally are not different from those of the antimasons of Lancaster County.

We therefore respectfully desire to know from you, for the information of our fellow citizens in general, whether you will allow yourself to be considered among those from whom the candidate for the Presidency is to be selected at the Baltimore Convention. We hope that you may assent to the measure, on public grounds, and for the promotion and establishment of the liberty of the citizen, and the independence of the Government of the country.

We are, Sir, with the highest respect,

Your obedient servants,

AMOS ELLMAKER,
JOHN BEAR,
SAMUEL WAGNER,
J. F. CHARLES,
ADAM BARE,
H. G. LONG,
H. MEHAFFY,
SAMUEL PARKE,
E. C. REIGART,
GEORGE HECKERT,
Z. McLENEGAN,
THO. H. BURROWES,
GEO. MAYER.

TO RICHARD RUSH, ESQ.

MR. RUSH'S ANSWER.

York, Pa. August 13, 1831.

Gentlemen—I have received your letter of the ninth of this month, in which, amongst other things, you are pleased to express a wish for yourselves and other antimasonic citizens of your vicinity, that I would allow my name to be considered as among those from which a candidate for the Presidency is to be selected at a National Convention representing this party, intended to be held at Baltimore in the month of September next. I am most gratefully sensible to the signal confidence and good will on the part of those with whom the intention of offering this distinction to me, has originated; and from the nature of the offer I cannot content myself with only a formal reply to it. The antimasonic party itself, is of comparatively recent birth in our country, which prompts me the more, under the relation towards it in which your kind letter would place me, to speak of its principles and its objects.

When I first gave to the public, for whatever they might be worth, my sentiments on Freemasonry, in the month of May last, my aims were exclusively public. Personal advantage I did not seek, and least of all—office. In my letter on that occasion, and in a more recent one, I expressed myself with a zeal and fullness appropriate to the extraordinary importance of the truths which I believed myself to be maintaining on a momentous public question; the most so, in my opinion, of any which has ever yet, as a home question, engaged the attention of the American People. But when I did so, I could not but know that the time at which my antimasonic fellow citizens contemplated nominations for the two highest offices in the Union, was very near at hand, and that public opinion appeared to be still at large as to the individuals who might be selected. Hence, I must unequivocally be considered as out of view for either nomination, lest a doubt should be thrown upon my motives. The bare existence of such a doubt would be unworthy of a cause which, pure as any that ever arose in any country, ought not to be sullied by the breath of suspicion resting upon the person who is to have the high honor of being associated with it, as you would propose to associate me. Under a different train of circumstances, I would have acceded to such a distinction, though with a proper distrust of myself, as the proudest of my life; it being one of which names far higher than mine might be proud. But although I necessarily and unequivocally withdraw from it, I shall be thoroughly with you in your cause; and in giving my reasons, I will take occasion to say something of the approaching Presidential election, which for the first time is to present, as the face of your letter shows, a new element in our politics.

I have examined the grounds on which your cause rests, dispassionately I am sure, as with an absence of every thing selfish. I have seen a frightful crime committed by masons, the most so, all

things considered, that has ever stained our country; and committed under the instigations of a masonic spirit. This diabolical spirit may not have been founded on rightful masonry; but from *masonry* nevertheless, and nothing else, it sprung. The crime was of dye no less deep than murder, with every aggravation that a bold conspiracy could superadd; whilst the provocation to it, was simply that of breaking one of the rules of masonry. I have seen this crime go unpunished for nearly five years, because the oaths which masonry enjoins have bound down the masons who were privy to it, with a power stronger than the law, so that detection has been rendered impossible. I have seen our press in a state of vassalage to this Institution, to an extent that is appalling. I have seen the Institution steep itself in pollution so that no waters can cleanse it, by retaining in full membership criminals legally convicted of having had a hand in this crime, though not absolutely the main actors, and still I have seen the press silent; still seen it cringe, still bow the knee to masonry. I have seen the same press inveighing against publications that aim at exposing these enormities, whilst insensible to the first rule of justice, it excludes the publications themselves from its columns. To this practice, by which the moral condition of the press in any community may in general be so well ascertained, I make a few honorable exceptions; so few, however, that they still leave the narrow spirit and fierce passions of masonry, responsible for this spectacle of moral degradation as regards our press. Another spectacle I have seen not less ominous in its political, than this last is, in its moral bearings. I have seen presses long at war on all other points, long the opposing combatants of public measures and the highest public men, strike up a masonic League as if by electric impulse, and, bandying shouts of masonic rage and devotion, sally forth as co-belligerents against those who arraign the Institution for such dangers and enormities as I have mentioned. I have watched their rivalship in bluster and malignity. I have seen how their former wrath against each other has, under this new bond of adhesion, worked itself into explosions of rival fury against the common foe; how a rabid appetite —a match for the canine—and that would *Morganize* if it dared, an appetite as loathsome in its tastes as it is deadly in its purposes, has broken forth from this confederacy of types against those who denounce the Lodge. Seeing these things and more, the demonstration to my mind is complete, is irresistible, that masonry has shown itself a tyrant over the PRESS and a tyrant over the LAW. These are evils in the highest degree alarming. As I view them, there are none others comparable to them, whether as they may come to affect our most important political interests, or our dearest civil rights.

It is therefore my deliberate opinion, that the existence of the Masonic Institution in our country, is, at this present juncture, a public grievance greater than any other that we experience. *There is obviously no mode of getting rid of it, but to bring public opinion to bear*

upon it at our elections. This would be a peaceable, lawful, and would prove in the end an effectual mode. It throws the whole question open to argument, and the people will pass upon it properly. They form the tribunal in whose intelligence we believe, in whose purity we confide, and from whose decision there is no appeal. To enter therefore zealously, and with unshaken purpose, upon the work of effecting the overthrow of masonry through the ballot boxes, I hold to be a political duty of primary obligation.—This is the well-understood object of your party, whilst other objects of public good alike binding upon all parties, are necessarily associated with it. Under every free government, complaint will always be heard. Much will be ideal, having its root only in the discontent of the mind; a portion will be light and transitory, and not a little will arise from causes inseparable from the human condition, which no frame of government nor policy of administration can cure. How many disputatious topics have engaged the passions of contending parties since the federal government has been in operation, which in their day were dwelt upon with an emphasis as if the very being of the nation had been at stake! yet how little do the most of them seem when now calmly reviewed! and how steadily has the nation been advancing in prosperity in the midst of them all! But the evils lately come to light, of which masonry is the parent, are new and startling. We grow amazed as well as alarmed at contemplating them; not through the medium of a heated imagination, but under the severest scrutiny of the understanding. They strike at the vital springs of public and individual safety. They entwine themselves round the whole body politic, poisoning at the fountain head principles indispensable to its welfare—to its existence. Is this merely to declaim? is it to deal only in assertion? Let the following plain queries answer, if there were no others. Upon facts do I desire to stand—these are my weapons—with these I feel myself an over-match for the Institution, though it had a host in its service ten thousand times stronger than any it has yet paraded. 1. Have not the courts in New York decided that a mason is an incompetent juror, on the trial of a brother mason? [Here I know what masonry will say—for I know how it creeps into crevices—it will say, So are members of other corporations, where a fellow member is party to the cause; I answer, No, not unless you show a *pecuniary* interest as the bar; but let us pass this by and proceed.] 2. Have not masons, when sworn in open court, refused to give evidence that would bear unfavorably upon brother masons, *preferring to be committed to prison for a contempt of court?* 3. Have not other masons from the same causes refused to be sworn at all, when brought before the court, they too preferring a jail? *by both which contumacious refusals the administration of justice has been brought to a stand, in the case of a public crime of unparalleled audacity, terror and guilt.* 4. Has it not happened, that on a prosecution by the whole people of New York against a public

delinquent who was a mason, a single juryman who was a brother mason, stood out against conviction, whilst to the minds of the eleven not masons his guilt was considered to be established; and was not this delinquent one of the persons charged with being accessary to the murder of Morgan? present when he was immolated? 5. *Have not these obstructions to justice grown out of the terrifying oaths which masonry imposes and the penalties coupled with them; whereby the consciences of weak men are overcome, and the consciences of wicked men hardened in their villany?* 6. Have not masonic Lodges, with a total insensibility to shame, such as none but the abandoned fall into, and which casts a portion of the disgrace upon the whole public where it is tolerated, *retained in close fellowship wretches of the fraternity, who were pronounced guilty by the laws of having had a share in this horrible conspiracy against the liberty and life of Morgan?*

Who can deny the facts, or any of them, to which the foregoing queries point? Nobody. The Lockport trials or other developements, have blazoned them to the American people. They are solemn and awakening. They have marked the progress of that mastery over the law which masonry has gained in this whole case of Morgan, whose blood, shed by masons, and concealed by masons, still cries for vengeance. Am I wrong then in pronouncing such things paramount evils? Do I go too far in declaring a sober conviction that in conjunction with the apathy of the press under them all, or its intentional and servile shrinking from their indignant exposure, they transcend any others that weigh upon us? Do they not directly tend to lay open the very 'veins and arteries of the social system?' to control the highest movements of the political system? Can men hear of them and continue unmoved? Can they wish for the longer existence of such an Institution? Can they as citizens, firm in their duty, any longer truckle to it? say that it is harmless, like any other society or club? like the Methodist society, or the Ccolonization society, or a Presbyterian society, or that of St. George or St. Andrew,—as is sometimes pretended, confounding all distinctions, and unwarrantably libeling these societies? The defenders of masonry allege that it is not political. Where do they suppose our senses to have fled when they say so? It may not be political by its express constitution or any of its formal rules; but if it be not so in *fact*, if it be not so by its *influence*, there is no truth under heaven. It can vanquish the law and silence the press, yet it is not political! It can tower over the first, which holds the body politic together—it can stop the second, by which the political universe is moved, yet it is not political!! This is to mock, not reason with us; it takes us for blocks—stones—not able to see what is before our eyes. And since masonry has already done all that I have enumerated, who so dull in thought or willful in infatuation, as not to feel sure that it will, in some form or other, go on with its foul transgressions

as occasion may incite, if permitted longer to have foothold in the land? I thence lay it down with a confidence that in my mind admits of no qualification, that the multiplied and proven dangers of masonry, render the effort for its extirpation the highest public duty which our citizens can be summoned to perform at the approaching election for a President.

The contest in which a large and growing number of the freemen of this Union have embarked for pulling down this relic of a tyrannic age, is both animating and ennobling. It will mark a point in history, and impart fresh renown to the American name. We are sometimes prone to imagine that Europe will be directing its eye across the waves to the scene of our cabinet or social squabbles, anxiously inquiring into their causes and waiting their issue; when Europe will care no more about them, or our other local strife, than of occurrences in the most remote of the planets. Not so will it fare with the onset we have commenced for such high cause, upon masonry. In this new battle, our blows will tell every where, for masonry is every where.—Often indeed has it been attacked before, but not as we are attacking it—through the unbiased suffrages of an inquiring and intelligent people. Its abuses have often excited the suspicions, and its harlequinism been the laughing stock, of the most enlightened portions of the old world; whilst from its revelry, it is well known that persons who have the opportunities for a better kind of festivity, have withdrawn in silent but significant disgust. Nevertheless, from the slowness with which old prejudices are shaken off in that hemisphere, where so much of what exists in all their institutions still depends upon the force of prejudice and the delusions of time, the masonic institution has continued to stand. As interested in keeping alive all such delusions, the name of a solitary king or prince may still be seen as its titular patron, in the almanacs. But the example of its overthrow in this rising republic, not by arbitrary edicts, but the power of public opinion at the polls, will be hailed by the wise and liberal in whatever region dwelling; most especially at an epoch, when the spirit of real reform over every species of cant and imposition, is abroad in the world. It will eclipse every other achievement now going forward in this inspiriting race. The overthrow of masonry, will be the overthrow of the accumulated folly of ages; of the most revolting scheme of social prostitution ever known to mankind, because one that may and often does place the *chevalier d'industrie*, the very pirate himself, side by side with the honest man, and this under sanction of oaths and penalties; of a system of imposture, that may compare with the performances of Hindostanese jugglery; of an organ of charity, calculated to throw disrepute even upon that virtue; and of a source of danger to law and government which makes masonry, as by its late deeds in this country, a just object of horror. Of its social prostitution, we have the beaming proof in our day;

proof as incontestable as deplorable, in the fact *of convicts from a jail*, in Morgan's case, being allowed to resume their seats in the Lodge as the boon companions of its other inmates. What a fraternity! what pretensions, what practices! Our victory over it, besides rendering incalculable benefits to ourselves, will redound to our glory abroad, if we thirst for such glory, beyond any event since the declaration of independence. No other can stand out in such bold and bright relief. It will become the watchword to other countries. In good time, we shall see the Institution every where else begin to totter. Our victory will be akin to those we won upon the ocean in this,—that it will be seen of all nations, and send its echoes among all; for the ocean is not more the common highway of all nations, than masonry is their common reproach, if not for its crimes, at least for its folly. It is remarkable, that the peals of victory in each case, will have been consecrated in our history to the maintenance *of personal rights*. On the ocean, we fought against impressment, and we were first roused against masonry from detecting its fell spirit in the murder of an American citizen. By holding the Institution responsible for the life of Morgan, we give to the world a noble pledge of the immeasurable price we set upon personal security; a principle denoting the fame of the most illustrious nations of the earth, and chiefly of Republics like our own, where the Ægis of the State should ever be ready with its protection if the meanest citizen be wronged in but a hair of the head; where all should rally round the law as the majesty, and only earthly majesty, that all worship. This is the true democratic principle of our institutions, their most exalted attribute; and such conduct, would be acting with a resolution and a spirit worthy of the principle.

Yielding to the moral force as well as political obligations of such considerations, far inferior in urgency do I account all other causes upon which the approaching Presidential election can turn, in comparison with that of fully suppressing this great source of public mischief; this newly discovered *imperium in imperio*, gnawing at the heart of our political system. I am not, and have not been, the advocate of the present occupant of the executive chair; but the public evils real or alleged of his administration, are as nothing, in my sight, the sum of them, to those which may spring from masonry,—this power of darkness that fights against the rest of society—and fights unseen, that throws its bolts whilst the hand is hidden. As his successor, I was, and desired to remain, friendly to the claims of a distinguished and highly gifted citizen of the west, whose maxims of public policy I have approved, and towards whom I would never wish to abate in the feelings of personal respect and attachment. But all the benefits which in other respects might be augured from his abilities and patriotism—and I render a free homage to both—would be no compensation in my judgment for the longer existence among us of this baleful Institution; this vain-boasting despot, that grows more exact-

ing as it is more criminal; that would sacrifice every thing to its own selfish and desperate passions;—this TYRANT, that stalks over liberty, life, the law, the press. I therefore go with you in your cause from my genuine conviction of its deeper and broader foundations than any other. It seeks the extirpation of an evil of overshadowing magnitude. Other evils have had their day and are gone, but this is permanent, this will be fastened upon us forever, unless we resolutely determine to remove it by our votes. Your cause too, full of invitation to exertion, presents a collateral inducement from which patriotism may gather hope. Being less exclusively bent upon all the exasperating topics that agitate the other parties, it may the better be enabled after triumphing upon its own principle, as triumph it must, to regard, those topics with something of a calmer spirit, and approach the task of their adjustment under auspices more propitious. I place your cause foremost then of all at the coming election in its principles, its object and its character; foremost in its elevation and range; foremost beyond compare, in its direct aim, and even foremost in the incidental good that it may have the opportunity of accomplishing. In this decision, I perform what I take to be my highest duty to my country. I am glad to perceive from your letter, that you will expect your candidate to be decidedly opposed to the Masonic Institution, in addition to other requisites in him to which you will naturally look. I dedicate myself to such a cause as of justice supreme; of dignity supreme; supreme in its connection with the public good. And may its increasing adherents, as the power of reason and truth goes on daily to swell its numbers, soon vindicate the authority of the law outrageously prostrated by masonry, the claims of humanity barbarously trampled upon by masonry, the independence of the press fearfully undermined by masonry, and the repose of society grievously invaded by masonry. Then will our country have abundant and enduring cause of joy, at seeing her borders freed from this "whole dark pile of human mockeries."

Renewing the expression of my sensibility to the very gratifying tenor and object of your letter, I remain, gentlemen, with great respect

Your most obliged and faithful
Servant and fellow citizen,

RICHARD RUSH.

To AMOS ELLMAKER,
JOHN BEAR,
SAMUEL WAGNER,
J. F. CHARLES,
ADAM BARE,
H. G. LONG,
H. MEHAFFY,
SAMUEL PARKE,
E. C. REIGART,
GEORGE HECKERT,
Z. McLENEGAN,
THO. H. BURROWES,
GEO. MAYER.

MR. ADAMS'S LETTER.

The following letter from JOHN QUINCY ADAMS explains the views of his illustrious father and of himself, on the subject of Freemasonry. It was written in reply to a Note from our Correspondent, who is reviewing Mr. Sheppard's *Defense of the Masonic Institution.* It may be recollected, that Mr. Sheppard claimed the elder ADAMS as a patron of the order; and our correspondent took the liberty of addressing Mr. Adams, asking for information on this point.—*Boston Press.*

QUINCY, 22 AUGUST, 1831.

SIR,—The letter from my father to the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, which Mr. Sheppard has thought proper to introduce into his address, was a *complimentary* answer to a friendly and patriotic address of the Grand Lodge to him. In it he expressly states that he had never been *initiated* in the order. He therefore knew nothing of their *Secrets*, their *Oaths*, nor their *Penalties*. Far less had their practical operation been revealed, by the murder of William Morgan. Nor had the hand of the Avenger of blood been arrested for five long years—and probably forever, by the contumacy of witnesses setting justice at defiance in her own Sanctuary—Nor had the trial of an accomplice in guilt marked the influence of *one* juror under masonic oaths upon the verdict of his eleven fellows.

That Mr. Sheppard should resort to a letter from my father, a professedly uninitiated man, to liberate the Masonic Institution from the unrefuted charge of unlawful *oaths*, of horrible and disgusting *penalties*, and *secrets*, the divulging of which has been punished by a murder unsurpassed in human atrocity, is to me passing strange. All that my father knew of masonry in 1798 was that it was *favorable to the support of civil authority;* and this he *inferred* from the characters of intimate friends of his, and excellent men who had been members of the Society. The inference was surely natural; but he had never seen the civil authority in conflict with masonry itself. To speak of the Masonic Institution as favorable to the support of civil authority at this day, and in this country, would be a mockery of the common sense and sensibility of mankind.

My father says he had known the love of the fine arts, the delight in hospitality, and the devotion to humanity of the masonic fraternity. All these qualities no doubt then were, and yet are conspicuous in

many members of the Society. They, and qualities of a yet higher order, were not less conspicuous in the Order of the Jesuits. They were conspicuous in many of the Monastic Orders—In the Inquisition itself, whose ministers, in the very act of burning the body of the heretic to death, were always actuated by the tenderest and most humane regard for the salvation of his soul.

The use of my father's name for the purposes to which Mr. Sheppard would now apply it is an injury to his memory, which I deem it my duty, as far as may be in my power, to redress. You observe, he says, he never had been *initiated* in the Masonic Order. And I have more than once heard from his own lips *why* he had never enjoyed that *felicity*.

Mr. Jeremy Gridley, whom he mentions as having been his intimate friend, was Grand Master of the Massachusetts Grand Lodge. He was also the Attorney General of the Crown, when in October, 1758, my father, having finished his law studies, and his school-keeping at Worcester, presented himself—a stranger—poor, friendless, and obscure, to ask of him the favor to present him to the Superior Court of the Province, then sitting at Boston, for admission to the Bar—Mr. Gridley, in his own office, examined the youthful aspirant with regard to his professional acquirements; gave him advice truly paternal, and dictated by the purest virtue; and then presented him to the Court, with a declaration that he had himself examined him, and could assure their Honors that his legal acquirements were very considerable, and ,fully worthy of the admission which he solicited.

This kindness of Mr. Gridley was never forgotten by my father; I trust it will never be forgotten by his children. From that day forth, while Mr. Gridley lived, he was the intimate friend, personal and professional, of my father. He died in 1767. My father often resorted to him for friendly counsel, and as he was Grand Master of the Lodge, once asked his advice, whether it was worth his while to become a member of the Society—In the candor of friendship, Mr. Gridley answered him--NO--adding that by aggregation to the society a young man might acquire a little artificial support; but that he did not need it, and that there was nothing in the Masonic Institution worthy of his seeking to be associated with it.

So said, at that time, the Grand Master of the Massachusetts Masons, Jeremyah Gridley: and such, I have repeatedly heard my father say, was the reason why he never joined the lodge.

The use of the name of Washington, to give an odor of sanctity to the Institution as it *now* stands exposed to the world, is, in my opinion, as unwarrantable as that of my father's name. On the mortal side of human existence, there is no name for which I entertain a veneration more profound than for that of Washington. But he was never called to consider the Masonic Order in the light in which it MUST now be viewed. If he had been, we have a pledge

of what his conduct would have been, far more authoritative than the mere fact of his having been a mason can be in favor of the brotherhood. If you wish to know what that pledge is, please to consult the recently published writings of Thomas Jefferson, Vol. 1, from page 416 to 422, and especially the paragraph beginning at the middle of page 418. I would earnestly recommend the perusal and meditation of the whole passage to all virtuous and conscientious masons, of whom I know there are great numbers. If they wish to draw precepts for their own conduct from the example and principles of Washington, or from the deliberate and anxious opinions and solicitude of Jefferson, they will find in those pages lessons of duty for themselves which they might consider it as presumption in me to offer them. The application of the principles, in a case not identically the same, but in every essential point of argument similar, and in many respects from a weaker to a much stronger basis, I would leave to their own discretion, though first divested of its passions. It is, in my opinion, an unanswerable demonstration of the *duty* of every mason in the United States at this day.

I never heard, and do not believe, that the Rev. Dr. Bentley ever delivered or published a sermon censuring my father for any thing he had ever said upon the subject of Masonry. The electoral vote of Massachusetts in 1801 WAS unanimous for my father.

You are at liberty to make what use of this letter you please: giving notice, if you publish it, that it is in answer to a letter of inquiry received by me.

I am, very respectfully, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

MR. WIRT'S LETTER,

TO THE NATIONAL ANTIMASONIC CONVENTION, HELD AT BALTIMORE, SEPTEMBER, 1831.

GENTLEMEN:—The unanimous resolution of the "National Antimasonic Convention" assembled at this place, nominating me as their candidate for the office of President of the United States, at the ensuing election, is an honor very grateful to me, as a proof of confidence from so respectable a body, and quite as unexpected as it is grateful. My pursuits, habits and inclinations, have removed me so far from the political excitements and contentions of the day, and I know so well, from a close personal observation of twelve years, how little of attraction there is in the office of President of the United States, to any man who values his own peace, that it was as far removed from my wishes as my expectations, that it would occur to any portion of my fellow citizens to present my name to the consideration of my countrymen for that office. Not only have I never sought the office, but I have, long since, looked at it with far more of dread than of desire, being fully aware of its fearful responsibilities, and of the fact, demonstrated by past experience, that no degree of purity and intelligence that can be exerted in the discharge of its duties, can protect its possessor from misrepresentation and aspersion.

Give me leave to add, gentlemen, that one of the last quarters from which I could have anticipated such an honor, is the Antimasonic Convention; because, adopting (too hastily, I am happy to find) the current rumors of the day, I had supposed that the very principle of your union was a war of indiscriminate proscription against all persons throughout the United States, who had ever borne the name of Mason; that you would put in nomination no person who had ever been a mason himself, and who would not, moreover, pledge himself to become a party to such a war of indiscriminate extermination, and wield the appointing power of the office under your dictation; who would not, in short, become the President of your party, instead of being the President of the United States. I am happy to find that this is an error; for I should have been grieved for my country, to see the rise of any party that should affect to seize upon the reins of government, and, through the agency of an automaton President, to direct its powers to the vindictive purposes

of party proscription and persecution; and I should be grieved for myself, to learn that there had been any thing in my life and character that could mark me out as a fit instrument for the execution of such a purpose. I am relieved from both these apprehensions by learning, since your assemblage here, that you have no other object in view than, in effect, to assert the supremacy of the laws of the land; that you seek to disturb no portion of the peaceable and virtuous citizens of our country in the enjoyment of those social rights which are secured to them by their constitution and laws; but on the contrary, that the principle which has embodied you, is one of self-defense, in the enjoyment of those rights; that having become convinced by the disclosures made under oath, by numerous and respectable witnesses, in the trials which have been agitating the State of New York, for several years, and by your investigations consequent on those disclosures, that the Masonic Society has become a tremendous political engine, with the power and the disposition to set the laws of the land at defiance, to mark out and sacrifice its victims at pleasure, and with impunity, and to silence all individual opposition by the mysterious terrors which it diffuses throughout the community, you have come to the determination to root out this noxious institution, if you can, *by the use of all the peaceable, legal, and constitutional means in your power;* that the most effective means of this character which has presented itself to you, is by the exercise of your elective franchise; that deeming every man unfit for office, who, in accordance with the principles established on the trials in New York, considers his Masonic oaths and obligations as superior to his obligations to the constitution and laws of his country, you will support no man for any office who holds that principle or adheres to the society whose principle it is; that you consider a man's allegiance to his country his highest earthly obligation, and that no man is fit to be trusted with one of the offices of the country who will permit a doubt to rest on the fact of his allegiance. These I understand to be your principles, and I see nothing in them which does not commend them to every man whose mind and heart are sound: for there can be no question among reasonable men, that in a free government like ours, the constitution and laws are our only sovereign; that the peace, order, prosperity and happiness of our people depend on the steady, faithful and effectual administration of our laws; that any secret society which, by the force of mysterious oaths and obligations, and by the extent of its combination, seeks to disturb the action of those laws, to set them at defiance, to ride over and control them, to usurp the government, to hold the lives, peace and happiness of society at their mercy, and to establish a reign of terror over the initiated and uninitiated, is a political monster, as fearful as the *Invisible Tribunal* of Germany, or the *Inquisition* of Spain, and ought to be extirpated, without delay, by the use of all the peaceable means which the constitution and laws of our country furnish.

I am further sure that, in our country, it is but necessary to establish the fact of the existence of such a society to insure its annihilation.

But, gentlemen, although your resolution asks of me no pledges or promises, yet the name and style of the convention from which it proceeds, *the Antimasonic Convention*, may be considered, both by yourselves and our fellow citizens at large, as necessarily involving by implication such promises and pledges: and it is therefore proper that I should be perfectly open and candid with you, that there may be no misapprehension between us, and that you may be able to disembarrass yourselves at once, by changing your nomination, if you find that you have acted under mistake in passing this resolution.

You must understand, then, if you are not already apprised of it, that, in very early life, I was myself initiated into the mysteries of Freemasonry. I have been told by Masons that my eyes were never opened, because I never took the Master's degree: but my curiosity never led me thus far—and, although I soon discontinued my attendance on lodges (not having entered one even from curiosity for more than thirty years, I believe), it proceeded from no suspicion on my part that there was any thing criminal in the Institution, or any thing that placed its members, in the slightest degree, in collision with their allegiance to their country and its laws. On the contrary, having been, before my initiation, assured by a gentleman in whom I had implicit confidence, that there was nothing in the engagement which could affect either my religion or politics (which I considered as comprehending the whole range of my duties, civil and religious, and as extending not to the first degree only, but to the whole Masonic order), and being further informed that many of the most illustrious men of Virginia, with General Washington at their head, belonged to that order, and had taken the degree of Master, I did not believe that there could be any thing in the institution at war with their duties as patriots, men and Christians; nor is it yet possible for me to believe that they could have understood the engagement as involving any such criminal obligations. I have, thenceforward, continually regarded Masonry as nothing more than a social and charitable club, designed for the promotion of good feeling among its members, and for the pecuniary relief of their indigent brethren. I have, indeed, thought very little about it for thirty years. It had dropped from my mind so completely that I do not believe I should have been able to gain admittance into any lodge at all strict in their examinations, where I should have had to depend alone on my memory; and so little consequence did I attach to it, that whenever Masonry has been occasionally introduced as a subject of conversation, I have felt more disposed to smile than to frown. Thinking thus of it, nothing has more surprised me than to see it blown into consequence in the Northern and Eastern States as a political engine, and the whole community excited against it as an affair of serious importance. I had heard, indeed, the general rumor that Morgan had been kidnaped and very probably murdered by Masons, for

divulging their secrets: but I supposed it to be the act of a few ignorant and ferocious desperadoes, moved by their own impulse singly, without the sanction or knowledge of their lodges: and thus thinking, I have repeatedly and continually, both in conversation and letters of friendship, spoken of *Masonry* and *Antimasonry* as a fitter subject for farce than tragedy, and have been grieved at seeing some of my friends involved in what appeared to me such a wild and bitter and unjust persecution against so harmless an institution as Freemasonry. I have thought and repeatedly said that I considered Masonry as having no more to do with politics than any one of the numerous clubs so humorously celebrated in the *Spectator;* and that with regard to the crime in Morgan's case, it was quite as unjust to charge that on Masonry as it would be to charge the private delinquencies of some professing Christians on Christianity itself.—Thus I have thought, and thus I have continually spoken and written in my private letters to several of my friends. It was not until the period of your assembling here, that, on the occasion of a friendly visit from one of your members, and my taking the liberty to rally him on the excessive zeal which had been excited on an occasion so inadequate, that he placed before me a detail of some of the proceedings on the trials of the conspirators against Morgan; when, for the first time, I saw the Masonic oaths as established by the testimony both of adhering and seceding Masons on the trials in New York. I observed that in one of them (called the Royal Arch) the candidate swears among other things that he will aid and assist a companion Royal Arch Mason in distress, and espouse his cause so far as to extricate him from the same, if in his power, *whether he be right or wrong*, and that he will conceal the secrets of a companion Royal Arch Mason given him in charge as such, *murder and treason not excepted;* and in other oaths, in still higher degrees, I also observe that the candidate binds himself to avenge the violated secrets of the Lodge by the infliction of death on the offender, and to revenge the wrongs of a brother to the utmost extremity; and the whole mixed up with the most horrible imprecations and blasphemous mockeries of the rites and tenets of the Christian Religion.

In the details of the trials in the case of Morgan it became manifest that these oaths are not considered by those who impose and take them as mere idle and unmeaning words; but that they are viewed as solemn obligations which are to be practically enforced, and which in the case of Morgan there is too much reason to believe were *tragically* enforced. According to the reports of the details of those trials as given at some of your former meetings, and given at great length at your meetings in this city (at one of which, in common with other citizens, I was present), those oaths are understood literally, and literally enforced; and, according to the exhibition of the evidence made in those reports, the conspiracy against Morgan was not, as has been commonly supposed, the act of a few ignorant men, alone; but was engendered in the lodges them-

selves, enforced under their direction, and supported at their expense; the conspiracy embracing within its sweep men of all degrees, men of the learned professions, farmers and mechanics; with too much reason to believe that the secret energy of the masonic spirit had entered and polluted even the temple of Justice; and with the most demonstrative proof that the persons who had entered into these unhallowed oaths, considered their allegiance to the lodges as of higher obligation than their allegiance to the laws of their country. If this be masonry, as according to this uncontradicted evidence it seems to be, I have no hesitation in saying, that I consider it at war with the fundamental principles of the social compact, as treason against society, and a wicked conspiracy against the laws of God and man, which ought to be put down.

But, gentlemen, this was not, and could not be Masonry as understood by Washington. The thing is impossible. The suspicion would be parricide. Nor can I believe that in the quarter of the Union with which I am best acquainted, intelligent men of high and honorable character, if they have been drawn in to take these shocking and impious oaths, can consider them as paramount to their duties to their God and their country. It is true, that after the practical exhibition of Masonry which we have had in New York, no man of common prudence can sleep over these discoveries, and will take care in every case of doubt to inquire. But both justice and prudence demand discrimination; for the powers of a President ought not, in my opinion, to be prostituted to the purpose of a blind and unjust proscription, involving innocence and honor with guilt and treason; and no man is worthy of a nomination to this high office in whose judgment and patriotism confidence cannot be placed to make the proper distinction between them. In the view of all honorable men, he would deservedly become an object of disgust, if he could stoop to commit himself by any pledges, in a case like this, as the price of his nomination.

If, with these views of my opinions, it is the pleasure of your Convention to change the nomination, I can assure you very sincerely that I shall retire from it with far more pleasure than I should accept it. If, on the contrary, it be their choice to abide by it, I have only to add that in a government like ours, I consider no citizen at liberty to reject a nomination by so respectable a body, upon personal considerations.

Be the final determination of your Convention what it may, I shall ever retain a grateful sense of the honor conferred on me by this nomination, and I beg the Antimasonic Convention to accept the assurance of my respect for them and their cause. I do not address them as a party, because I understand the principles of their union to be, *to assert the supremacy of the laws;* which I trust is and ever will be the sacred and immutable principle of our common country.

WM. WIRT.

Baltimore, Sept. 28, 1831.

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